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ABSTRACT

This study investigates a) the effects of teachers' occupational expectations for their male students, and attitudes toward the necessity of a college education, upon their feelings of job satisfaction; and b) the socioeconomic status and degree of urbanization of the communities in which the teachers work, and the grade level taught, as possible intervening variables. The data from interviews with 283 elementary and secondary English teachers reveal that a) teachers holding white-collar expectations for their male students report that their jobs are more rewarding than teachers holding blue-collar expectations, with a strong positive association in middle-class and city schools; b) teachers who believe that a college education is necessary are inclined to find their jobs very rewarding in middle-class communities; and c) teachers who do not share this belief find their jobs very rewarding in working- and mixed-class communities. The two independent variables (occupational expectation and schooling needed behave differently from one another in relationship to each of the dependent variables (job reward and willingness to become a teacher again). These two indexes of teacher morale seem to measure different aspects of job satisfaction. (Four tables of data are included, along with two pages of references.) (Author/BRB)

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Teacher Morale as a Function of Teachers' Occupational Expectations for their Students and Attitudes Toward Higher Education

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Introduction

Teacher morale depends on many factors. Job content, context and performance can affect teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction, (Herzberg, et.al., 1959; Lawler and Porter, 1967; Pallone, Hurley and Rickard, 1971) and in the specific work situation, need-reinforcer correspondence may well be a predictor of job satisfaction (Davis, et. al., 1968). Teacher-peer and teacher-pupil relations, and specific working conditions are among the most important factors affecting teacher morale. The weight of given factors depend on the age, sex and educational level of the teacher (Rempel and Bentley, 1970; Young, 1969; Avens, 1968).

Research has also focused on the challenges and role demands facing teachers produced by the socio-economic, ethnic, and racial compositions of the communities in which they teach (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1962; Clark, 1963; Goldberg, 1963). Many teachers covet jobs in middle-class or suburban areas and try to transfer out of assignments in inner-city areas as soon as possible. Others learn to like their inner-city positions (Becker, 1952). School systems tend to use assignments in white middle-class neighborhoods as "rewards" for those teachers who have garnered the most education credits and who have taught the longest, leaving a disproportionate share of new, inexperienced teachers with substitute licenses in the inner-city schools (Rogers, 1968). Pupils' performances and teachers' expectations for their students both tend to be low in these under-privileged communities (Rosenthal and Jacobs, 1968; Riessman, 1962). This correlation may not be coincidental; Davidson and

Lang (1960) conclude that the more positive the children's perception of the teachers' feelings the better is their academic performance and classroom behavior and that upper and middle-class children perceive their teachers' feelings toward them more favorably than do children from lower-class backgrounds.

Teachers' expectations may affect not only pupil achievement but their own feelings of job satisfaction as well. This study attempts to investigate the effects of two variables on teachers' morale - occupational expectations for their students and teachers' attitudes toward the necessity of a college education. These effects are examined in three types of contexts: socio-economic class of the community in which the teacher is employed, degree of urbanization of the community, and grade level taught. We expect to find that the relationship between teachers' satisfaction and their expectations and attitudes are influences by the kinds of students they teach and contexts in which they teach.

Survey Design

This paper draws on a larger study (Kenen, 1970) which uses data gathered by Wilder in New Jersey in 1968. Wilder's sample was designed to study actual and perceived consensus among teachers, mothers and students as an aspect of social integration in various community settings. A variety of community contexts were deliberately chosen to allow inter-community comparisons. Size, relative isolation, growth rate, socio-economic and racial composition were considered in the selection of the communities. Schools were selected in eight areas - a racially mixed city, a stable middle-class suburb, a growing middle-class suburb, a stable working-class suburb, a growing working-class suburb, a small middle-class town, a small working-class town, and a rural village. Eleven school-attendance areas were designated as sampling points, one in each non-city community and four in the city (a middle-class white neighborhood, a working-class white neighborhood, a working-class mixed neighborhood, and a working-class black neighborhood). All teachers in each elementary school and all English teachers in the high schools were interviewed for a total of 283.

I shall analyze answers to four questions in the original interview schedule. Two questions pertaining to teacher job satisfaction are used as measures of the dependent variable.

(1) How rewarding do you find your job?

(2) What would you like to do if you could start over again?

The responses to these questions were cross-tabulated with the teachers' answers to two questions ascertaining the teachers' occupational expectations for their male students and the teachers' attitudes

toward formal higher education:

(1) Which groups of occupations (on this list) do you think most boys in your classes will go into?

(2) About how much schooling do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?

The first of these latter questions refers specifically to the male students in the teachers' classes and to occupational achievement, rather than educational attainment. The last question is stated abstractly, referring to young men in general and not to the particular students in the teachers' classes. It is meant to ascertain the attitude of the teacher toward education as a method of socialization and means of achieving upward mobility. The teachers' responses to these questions may affect their morale in different ways and differently in various contexts. Contingency tables were used to analyze these contextual effects.

Findings

Teachers' Job Morale as Affected by their Occupational Expectations, Educational Attitudes and Socio-Economic Class of Community

Looking at the sample as a whole, we find a positive association between teachers' occupational expectations for their students and teachers' feelings of job satisfaction. Seventy-two percent of the teachers who expect that most of their male students will enter white-collar occupations find their jobs "very rewarding" as compared with only 59% of those who expect the boys in their classes to obtain blue-collar jobs. Table 1 shows that this positive association between teachers' expectations for their students and their feelings of job reward prevails in all socio-economic classes of communities, but varies in strength among them in an interesting way. In middle-class communities, seventy-two percent of the teachers holding white-collar expectations find their jobs "very rewarding" compared with sixy-seven percent in the mixed and working-class areas. But in middle-class communities, only forty percent of the teachers with blue-collar expectations find their jobs "very rewarding" as compared with fifty-nine percent in the mixed and working-class schools. These two contextual findings seem to imply that some teachers appear to derive a strong sense of job satisfaction from holding white-collar expectations and even good salaries and working conditions may not be enough to compensate them if they feel their students will enter blue-collar fields.

Table 1 about here

While there is a positive association between white-collar expectations and teacher morale, there is no association between teachers' attitudes toward the necessity of a college education and their feelings of job satisfaction. But this result, while true for the samle as a whole,

Table 1

Percentage of Teachers Finding Their Jobs Very Rewarding by Occupational Expectations for Their Male Students, and Amount of Schooling a Teacher Feels is Necessary for a Young Man to Get Along Well in this World, by Socio-Economic Class of Community

Class of Community	Occupational Expectations			Amount of Schooling Needed		
	White Collar	Blue Collar	Difference due to Occupational Expectations	College Degree or Higher	Some College or Less	Difference due to Educational Aspirations
Middle-class	72 (81)	40 (5)	+32	80 (45)	60 (35)	+20
Mixed and working class	67 (58)	59 (126)	+8	57 (91)	68 (90)	-11
Difference due to socio-economic class	+5	-19		+23	-8	

n = 270 on occupation subtable

n = 261 on schooling subtable

masks one interesting relationship revealed when socio-economic class of the community is entered into the analysis. We see from Table 1 that in middle-class communities there is a very strong positive association between teachers' beliefs that a college education is necessary and job satisfaction. Of the teachers working in middle-class communities, those who believe that a college education is essential are very much more likely to say that they are very satisfied with their jobs than are their counterparts who do not feel that college is essential. The opposite is true in working-class communities, although the relationship is not strong. Teachers who believe that a college education is not a necessity are somewhat more likely to say that they are very satisfied with their jobs.

Though the relationships shown in Table 1 are quite strong, we must be careful in interpreting them. Family background of the student is so highly correlated with the socio-economic class of the community that it may be the students' socio-economic status which is the underlying reason for the association found. In addition, Wilder (1968) found that teacher satisfaction is strongly related to student performance. It is probable that teachers' occupational expectations for their students in the different community contexts are likewise associated with student performance.

Occupational Expectations, Educational Attitudes and Degree of Urbanization of Community as Factors Affecting Teacher Job Satisfaction

Table 2 demonstrates that teacher morale is affected by occupational expectations for their students and location of the community. From the literature, (Becker, 1952; Clark, 1963; Goldberg, 1963; Wilder, 1968) we would expect to find teacher morale higher in suburban areas and

towns than in city schools. Surprisingly, our results show that teachers are more likely to find their jobs "very rewarding" in city schools than in non-city including suburban schools when occupational expectations for their students is controlled. The fewest teachers who find their jobs "very rewarding" work in the non-city communities and hold blue-collar expectations for most of their male students. Job satisfaction appears to depend in part on congruence between teachers expectations for their students and their aspirations for their students.

We saw previously, that in middle-class communities there is a positive association between teachers' beliefs that a college education is a necessity and their feelings of job satisfaction. However, we find no association between teachers' attitudes toward the importance of a college education and teacher morale when degree of urbanization of the community or grade-level taught is introduced.

Table 2 about here

Teachers' Occupational Expectations, Educational Attitudes and Grade-Level Taught: Their Effect on Feelings of Job Reward

The "universalistic-achievement" criterion is the strongest in the early grades and expectations are unusually high. The child's socio-economic background does not substantially influence his school work until fourth grade and has an increasing impact each year thereafter (Kahl, 1953).

Table 2

Percentage of Teachers Finding Their Jobs Very Rewarding by Occupational Expectations for Their Male Students and Degree of Urbanization of the Community

Degree of Urbanization	Occupational Expectations		Difference due to Expectations
	White-Collar	Blue-Collar	
Non-city	67 (111)	56 (75)	+11
City	86 (28)	61 (56)	+25
Difference due to degree of urbanization	-19	-5	

n = 270

therefore, I investigated grade-level taught as a different kind of context which might affect teacher satisfaction. Table 3 displays the differences found in teacher moral attributable to occupational expectations and grade-level taught. The association between white-collar occupational expectations and job satisfaction is strongest in the elementary school. Seventy-eight perdent of the elementary school teachers who hold white-collar expectations find their job "very rewarding", compared to 61% of those holding blue-collar expectations, a difference of 17 percentage points. On the high school level, however, the difference is only 7 percentage points. Part of this grade-level difference is attributable to the sex of the teachers. 87% of the teachers in the elementary schools in this sample are women and in the sample as a whole the positive association between white-collar expectations and job satisfaction is stronger for female teachers than male teachers. The distribution among the sexes is less lopsided in the secondary schools where only 55% of the teachers are woman (Kenen, 1970).

Table 3 about here

Would Teachers Enter the Teaching Profession if They Could Start Over Again?

Another measure of job satisfaction is whether the respondents would enter the teaching profession if they could start over again. In the entire sample, the answers to this question are not associated with the teachers' expectations for

Table 3

Percentage of Teachers Finding Their Jobs "Very Rewarding" by Occupational Expectations for their Male Students and by Grade Level Taught

Grade Level	Occupational Expectations: White-Collar	Occupational Expectations: Blue-Collar	Difference due to Occupational Expectations
Elementary	78 (78)	61 (85)	17
Secondary	61 (59)	54 (46)	7
Difference due to grade level taught	17	7	

n = 268

their students nor is there an association in any of the three contexts I investigated. These results are not consistant with those previously described when feelings of job reward was used as a measure of teacher morale. It is possible that expectations for students weigh heavily in whether or not teachers feel fulfilled while performing their jobs but are only a single factor among many in the larger career decision making process.

Moreover, I found no association between the respondents educational values and their feelings of job reward, but I do find a relationship between educational values and the teachers' responses to the question "would they become teachers again". Seventy-one percent of those who value a college education highly would enter the teaching profession again as compared with 62% of those teachers not emphasizing the necessity of a college education. While this over all difference is not large, it conceals some strong contextual relationships which are different from those found using job reward as the dependent variable (Table 1). From Table 4 we can discern that in working-class and mixed-class schools, city schools and in secondary schools, teachers who believe that a college education is necessary are much more likely to affirm that they would enter the teaching field again, The relationship is substantially weaker in middle-class schools, suburban schools and in elementary schools. On the other hand, we saw in Table 1 that feelings of job reward used as a measure of morale was strongest in middle-class community among teachers who believe that a college degree is essential and among those in the working-class schools who do not.

Table 4

Percentage of Teachers Who Would Enter the Teaching Profession Again by Amount of Schooling Teachers Feel is Necessary for a Boy to Get Along Well in the World and Socio-Economic Class of Community, Degree of Urbanization of Community and Grade Level Taught

Context	Amount of Schooling Needed		
	College Degree or higher	Some College or Less	Difference due to Educational Aspirations
Middle-class	63 (38)	67 (30)	-4 %
Mixed and working class	75 (96)	59 (104)	16 %
Difference due to Socio-economic class	-11 %	8%	
Non-city	70 (102)	67 (87)	3 %
City	75 (32)	49 (47)	26 %
Difference due to Degree of Urbanization	-5 %	18 %	
Elementary School	71 (99)	68 (70)	3 %
Secondary School	70 (37)	57 (62)	13 %
Difference due to Grade level taught	-1 %	11 %	

n = 268 for socio-economic class
n = 268 for degree of urbanization
n = 267 for grade-level taught

Summary and Conclusion

Teachers who hold white-collar expectations for their male students are more apt to feel that their jobs are "very rewarding" than are teachers who hold blue-collar expectations; there is a positive association between white-collar expectations and feelings of job satisfaction for teachers in all communities. This is particularly strong in middle-class and city schools. There is also a high positive assocation between expectations and satisfaction for elementary-school teachers, but only a slight association for secondary-school teachers.

There is no general association between teachers' attitudes toward the necessity of a college education and job satisfaction, but there is a relationship between these variables in a few cases. Those who feel that at least a college education is necessary and teach in middle-class communities are more likely to find their jobs "very rewarding". The opposite pattern is evident among teachers in working-class and mixed-class communities. There, more teachers who do not feel that a college education is necessary find their jobs "very rewarding".

In the sample as a whole, I find no association between teachers' occupational expectations for their students and teachers' willingness to reenter the teaching profession if they could start over.

Teachers who attach great importance to a college education are slighly more often willing to be teachers again than those who do not think that college is essential. This relationship is weak for the entire sample but is strong for teachers in the city, and working-class schools, and moderate for high-school teachers. There seems to be virtually no association between attitudes toward college and the desire to reenter teaching among elementary-school teachers

and teachers in middle-class and non-city communities. It also appears that congruence between the teachers' beliefs and the realities posed by their teaching situation substantially affects teacher job satisfaction.

In conclusion, the two independent variables (occupational expectations and importance of college) behave differently from one another in relationship to each of the dependent variables (job reward and willingness to become a teacher again). These two indices of teacher morale may, therefore, represent different dimensions of job satisfaction. The relationships between teachers' occupational expectations for their students, their educational values and teacher morale are complex and are specified in each case by the three types of contexts investigated in this paper. A significant related question, which our data cannot answer, is whether the factors affecting job satisfaction also affect job performance.

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